11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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a. Young Mundurucú man. Note tattooed vertical lines on neck and continuing out of ear plugs and lip bands. The houses of Cabruca are in the background.

[343]

b. Mundurucú women gathered in the ceremonial shed in which turtles is made.

[end plate 2]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in the village. The average collecting season of the savannah Munduruců thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Munduruců productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

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462 men's house, and the newly formed Casi, is 60. On the 54 other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, [32] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. [31] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage [36] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one [342] [177] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal [343] [177] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

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a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well-weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little cooperation between the houses.

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Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipiti for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually